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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 314282

FOR CHARGE YATES ONLY FROM ARLENE RENDER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT CG

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL: ZAIRE COUNTRY DIRECTOR EVALUATION

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS MESSAGE CONVEYS THE COUNTRY DIRECTOR'S  
EVALUATION OF POST REPORTING FOR KINSHASA. YOU ARE  
ENCOURAGED TO USE IT IN PREPARING YOUR ANNUAL REPORTING  
PLAN, WHICH IS DUE AS AN ANNEX TO YOUR MISSION PROGRAM  
PLAN. IN THE INTEREST OF CANDOR, DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS  
LIMIT DISTRIBUTION OF THE CDE TO THE CHIEF OF MISSION  
WITH A RECORD COPY TO INR/IL/RD. YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO  
SHARE THIS WITH YOUR STAFF AND MEMBERS OF THE COUNTRY

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TEAM, AND CONSIDER THE RECOMMENDATIONS IN PREPARING YOUR  
ANNUAL REPORTING PLAN FOR NEXT YEAR.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

COUNTRY: REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE

POST: KINSHASA

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY:

HARRY R. MELONE

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TYPES OF REPORTING EVALUATED: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL, REFUGEE, MILITARY, AND BIOGRAPHIC REPORTING PRODUCED BY STATE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL EITHER INDEPENDENTLY OR IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE MISSION.

PERIOD OF EVALUATION: 11/01/93 - 10/31/94

AGENCIES/OFFICES CONSULTED: DOD, USDOC, C.I.A., TREASURY, USAID, INR, PRM, AF/RA, AF/EPS, PM, IO, P, EB, DRL

EVALUATOR: ARLENE RENDER, DIRECTOR, AF/C

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BACKGROUND AND GENERAL COMMENTS:  
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4. THIS EVALUATION PERIOD COINCIDED WITH A TIME OF EXTREME CRISIS IN THE SUBREGION AND POLITICAL TURMOIL IN ZAIRE. THE SUDDEN DEATHS IN A PLANE CRASH OF THE PRESIDENTS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI, THE OUTBREAK OF CIVIL  
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WAR IN RWANDA, AND THE MASSIVE AND UNPRECEDENTED REFUGEE OUTFLOW INTO ZAIRE IN JULY FOLLOWING THE CAPTURE OF KIGALI BY THE TUTSI-DOMINATED RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT PLACED EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS UPON EMBASSY KINSHASA. THE TURMOIL ON ZAIRE'S BORDERS WAS MIRRORED BY THE ONGOING POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE COUNTRY'S LONG TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: A RUPTURE IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE OPPOSITION AND THE SUPPORTERS OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU, PRESIDENTIAL POWER PLAYS TO FORCE HIS OPPONENTS TO CLOSURE, THE EXPANSION OF ZAIRE'S HIGH COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE BIRTH OF ITS TRANSITION PARLIAMENT, LONG AND FRACTIOUS DISCUSSIONS ON THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTION, AND FINALLY (AND PERHAPS IMPROBABLY), THE EMERGENCE OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT HEADED BY FORMER MOBUTU ALLY AND BORN AGAIN OPPOSITION LEADER KENGO WA DONDO.

5. EMBASSY KINSHASA REPORTING AND ANALYSIS OF THESE ISSUES HAS BEEN GENERALLY SUPERB IN THE PAST YEAR. YOU HAVE DEFTLY AND FAITHFULLY CHRONICLED THE POLITICAL MACHINATIONS WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED ZAIRE'S TRANSITION, AND YOU HAVE SUGGESTED -- AND THEN DELIVERED ON -- POLICY

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GUIDANCE TO REMIND MOBUTU OF OUR EXPECTATIONS AND STRENGTHEN KENGO'S POSITION. PERHAPS MOST IMPRESSIVELY, YOU REACTED IMMEDIATELY TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN EASTERN ZAIRE, REDEPLOYED LIMITED RESOURCES, AND KEPT WASHINGTON INFORMED OF EVENTS WHILE MANAGING A SUCCESSION OF HIGH LEVEL USG VISITORS, CODELS AND PRIVATE DELEGATIONS.

6. UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF ASKED US TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL APPRECIATION FOR THE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS MADE BY AF/C MISSIONS, ESPECIALLY RWANDA/BURUNDI AND ZAIRE, UNDER  
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IMMENSELY DIFFICULT, DANGEROUS, AND IN SOME CASES HEART-RENDING CIRCUMSTANCES. EXCELLENT REPORTING ACROSS THE BOARD ALLOWED SEVENTH FLOOR PRINCIPALS TO KEEP ABREAST OF THE HUMANITARIAN, POLITICAL, REGIONAL, AND SECURITY REPERCUSSIONS. HE NOTED THAT ALL POSTS DESERVE COMMENDATION FOR THEIR PERSUASIVE EFFORTS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON ISSUES KEY TO THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. THE DEPARTMENT REQUESTED DEMARCHES ON A RANGE OF ISSUES FROM HAITI TO POPULATION CONTROL, AND AF/C MISSIONS DELIVERED OUR ARGUMENTS FORCEFULLY AND IN A TIMELY FASHION. TARNOFF'S OFFICE NOTED THAT KINSHASA'S REPORTING "DEFTLY CAPTURES MOBUTU'S MULTIPLE ROLES: A BILLION-DOLLAR CRIMINAL FINANCIER, A POWER BROKER EXTRAORDINAIRE WHO HOLDS ZAIRE'S DEMOCRATIC FUTURE -- AND ITS DEMOCRATIC LEADER -- IN HIS PALM."

7. AFTER A LONG PERIOD UNDER ORDERED DEPARTURE AND MINIMIZE, KINSHASA SUBMITTED IN MARCH A POST REPORTING PLAN FOR THE BALANCE OF FY-94 -- THREE WEEKS BEFORE THE REGION EXPLODED IN CRISIS. AS YOUR MISSION RESPONDED TO WASHINGTON'S EVER-INCREASING REQUESTS FOR REPORTING FROM EASTERN ZAIRE, ASSISTANCE WITH VISITS, AND DEMARCHES ON THE CRISIS, YOU WERE UNABLE TO SUBMIT SOME OF THE ESSENTIAL AND DESIRABLE REPORTS OUTLINED IN THE POST REPORTING PLAN. LONG STAFFING GAPS IN THE POLITICAL SECTION -- UNPLUGGED DESPITE ASSURANCE FROM WASHINGTON THAT TDY SUPPORT WOULD BE FORTHCOMING -- CONTRIBUTED TO THESE LACUNAE, AS DID THE ADVENT OF THE KENGO GOVERNMENT, WHICH PERFORCE CHANGED MISSION REPORTING PRIORITIES. THE THEME HERE, HOWEVER, IS NOT UNFULFILLED OBJECTIVES. YOU AND YOUR STAFF RESPONDED SUPERBLY, WITH THE HIGHEST LEVEL  
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OF PROFESSIONALISM, TO A CONSTANTLY CHANGING SET OF  
EVENTS AND PRIORITIES. YOU PROVIDED WASHINGTON END-USERS  
WITH THE INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE WE NEEDED IN A TIMELY  
AND CONCISE FASHION -- AND YOU MANAGED THIS WITH REDUCED  
STAFF, AND WITH HALF THE SENIOR COUNTRY TEAM CAMPING OUT  
IN GOMA AND BUKAVU DURING THE INITIAL WEEKS AND MONTHS OF  
THE REFUGEE CRISIS. THE FOLLOWING EVALUATES REPORTING  
FROM KINSHASA ON SEVERAL OF THE MAJOR ISSUES ON WHICH YOU  
HAVE FOCUSED.

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ZAIRE'S TRANSITION: FROM BIRINDWA TO KENGO  
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8. ZAIRE'S TORTUOUS TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY CONTINUES,  
AND YOU AND YOUR STAFF HAVE PROVIDED ABSOLUTELY FIRST  
RATE REPORTING AND ANALYSIS OF THE FITS AND STARTS,  
BACKSTABBING, DOUBLE CROSSING, AND RELATED POLITICAL  
PETTIFOGGERY LEADING TO THE ELECTION OF TRANSITION PRIME  
MINISTER KENGO WA DONDO. KINSHASA CABLES IN NOVEMBER AND  
DECEMBER 1993 GAVE SOLID RECOMMENDATIONS FOR U.S.  
PARTICIPANTS AT THE WASHINGTON TRILATERAL (93 KINSHASA  
6547, "KINSHASA NOVEMBER 13: THOUGHTS FOR TRILATERAL),  
THEN OUTLINED THE DEPRESSING SPECTACLE OF THE BREAKDOWN  
IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE OPPOSITION HOLY UNION AND THE  
MOBUTUISTS AND THE SLOW DANCE AROUND THE ISSUE OF  
RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE (KINSHASA 6867, "NEGOTIATORS AGREE  
TO "FINAL" PLENARY DECEMBER 3," KINSHASA 6889, "DRAMA  
FROM THE HOLY UNION: WE WON'T SIGN," KINSHASA 6911,  
"WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS", KINSHASA 7158,  
"TENTATIVE MOVES TOWARD RESTARTING NEGOTIATIONS," AND  
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MANY OTHERS). YOUR COVERAGE OF THIS TOPIC WAS EXHAUSTIVE  
YET ADMIRABLY CONCISE AND WELL-WRITTEN. THE BREADTH AND  
DEPTH OF THE REPORTING DEMONSTRATED THE TREMENDOUS ACCESS  
THAT YOU AND YOUR STAFF HAVE DEVELOPED WITH PLAYERS  
ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IN KINSHASA.

9. COVERAGE OF MOBUTU'S JANUARY 4 "ULTIMATUM" TO THE  
POLITICAL CLASS AND ITS AFTERMATH WAS SIMILARLY SUPERB.  
YOU CAPTURED THE JANUARY CRISIS WITH A SERIES OF  
THOUGHTFUL MESSAGES ON EVENTS (KINSHASA 51, "MOBUTU GIVES  
NEGOTIATORS ONE MORE WEEK...", KINSHASA 105, "SIGNS OF

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MOVEMENT (AND CONFUSION) ON NEGOTIATIONS," KINSHASA 258, "THE TRAP SPRINGS SHUT"), AND THEN OFFERED SENSIBLE SUGGESTIONS ON THE U.S. RESPONSE (KINSHASA 267, "CRISIS IN ZAIRE: HOW WE SHOULD REACT"). SUBSEQUENT REPORTING ON THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE ENLARGED HCR-PT AND THE POLITICAL SKULLDUGGERY AND POSITIONING ON THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF THE PRIME MINISTER WAS WELL-SOURCED, LIVELY, AND PRESCIENT (KINSHASA 354 AND 371, "ENLARGED HCR MEETS, BEGINS WORK, KINSHASA 905, "MULUMBA LUKOJI MAKES HIS MOVE," AND KINSHASA 1059, "NO PERCEPTIBLE MOVEMENT..."). AS USUAL, YOU COMBINED STRAIGHT REPORTING WITH ANALYSIS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS. KINSHASA 1847, "ZAIRE POLICY OPTIONS," PROVIDED AN INVALUABLE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON U.S. POLICY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TRANSITION AND SUMMARIZED RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE DIRECTION WE SHOULD TAKE IN THE EVENT ZAIRE'S POLITICAL CLASS STUMBLED ON A SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE. THREE MONTHS LATER, WITH THE ELECTION OF TRANSITION PM KENGO, YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FORMED THE OUTLINE OF A NEW DIRECTION FOR U.S. POLICY TOWARD ZAIRE.

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10. THE CONTENT OF YOUR REPORTING ON THE TRANSITION IS ALMOST UNIFORMLY FIRST RATE. AT TIMES, HOWEVER, THE FRUSTRATION OF COVERING ZAIRE'S NEVERENDING STORY CREPT INTO YOUR SUBJECT LINES (I.E., KINSHASA 2176, "NO PROGRESS ON DESIGNATION OF A PRIME MINISTER; WHO CARES?"). THIS MINOR QUIBBLE ASIDE, A NUMBER OF CABLES STAND OUT AS EVOCATIVE EXEMPLARS OF ON THE SPOT REPORTING (AND ALSO OF HOW MISSION CAN DRAW UPON A VARIETY OF SOURCES TO BRING ORDER OUT OF THE LIES AND SELF-SERVING HALF TRUTHS DISHED OUT BY WOULD-BE ZAIRIAN SPIN-MEISTERS): KINSHASA 2418, "OPPOSITION DISRUPTS TRANSITION PARLIAMENT," KINSHASA 2560, "ZAIRE'S CONTINUING POLITICAL CRISIS," KINSHASA 2974, "HOLY UNION EXPELS NINE MEMBER PARTIES, KINSHASA 3073, "OPPOSITION LEADERS BELIEVE RECONCILIATION UNLIKELY," AND KINSHASA 3081, "BEHIND THE SCENES WITH MULUMBA LUKOJI." WITHOUT BELABORING THE TOPIC, THE JUST-CITED CABLES ALSO DRAW A SUBTLE PICTURE OF AN OPPOSITION IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-DESTRUCTING.

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 ZAIRE'S TRANSITION: KENGO AND BEYOND  
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11. THE ADVENT OF KENGO WA DONDO AS ZAIRE'S TRANSITION PRIME MINISTER MODIFIED THE POLITICAL EQUATION IN ZAIRE, AND OFFERED THE U.S. THE PROSPECT OF A MARKEDLY CHANGED BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. BEFORE AND AFTER KENGO'S ELECTION, YOU AND YOUR STAFF CONTINUED YOUR PRO-ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT IN THE ZAIRIAN DIALECTIC. A CABLE ON THE

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TROIKA EFFORT TO INFLUENCE THE ZAIRIAN OPPOSITION TO REUNITE BEHIND A SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER (KINSHASA 3383, "THE TROIKA EFFORT: CONTACTING THE POLITICIANS") WAS AN EXCELLENT SUMMARY OF THE DIVERGENT AGENDAS OF ZAIRE'S FRACTIOUS OPPOSITION (A TOPIC CHRONICLED EXTENSIVELY IN THREE INTERESTING MESSAGES ON THE PDSC AND THE UDPS: KINSHASA 3647, "THE BRIDGE BREAKS: PDSC SPLIT COMPLETES SPLIT OF USOR," KINSHASA 4501, "UDPS ANNOUNCES REORGANIZATION" AND KINSHASA 6257, "A PARTY DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF MAKES NO DECISIONS"). YOU FOLLOWED THIS WITH A SERIES OF CAREFULLY-CONSIDERED MESSAGES ON KENGO, HIS POLITICAL PROGRAM, AND THE COMPOSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT: KINSHASA 3431, "IT'S KENGO!", KINSHASA 3506, "KENGO CONFIRMED BY MOBUTU: WHAT TO EXPECT NEXT," KINSHASA 3648, "KENGO GOVERNMENT STILL A-FORMING," KINSHASA 3875, "FIRST THOUGHTS ON THE KENGO TRANSITION," KINSHASA 3902, "KENGO'S AMBITIOUS PROGRAM...", KINSHASA 4005, "KENGO: INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS," AND KINSHASA 4036, "KENGO GOVERNMENT SNAPSHOTS." THIS LATTER CABLE WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL AS A MEASURE OF OPPOSITION AND MOBUTUIST INFLUENCE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AND FOR ITS INSIGHTS INTO THE HARD BARGAINING WHICH LED UP TO THE FORMATION OF THE KENGOITE COALITION.

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KENGO AND MOBUTU: POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY  
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12. THE RELATIVE INDEPENDENCE OF PRIME MINISTER KENGO, HIS FREEDOM OF ACTION VIS-A-VIS MOBUTU, AND THE RELATIONS

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BETWEEN "LE GUIDE" AND HIS FIRST MINISTER ARE TOPICS OF

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INTENSE INTEREST HERE. HERE AGAIN, KINSHASA ANTICIPATED WASHINGTON'S NEEDS, AND PROVIDED EXCELLENT COVERAGE OF KENGO'S STRUGGLES TO ASSERT HIS AUTHORITY, THE BATTLE WITH THE CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR (KINSHASA 6285, 6329 AND 6491), AND THE SINISTER INFLUX OF ILLEGAL CURRENCY INTO THE COUNTRY. IN THIS LATTER AREA IN PARTICULAR, KINSHASA'S REPORTING HAS BEEN WIDELY PRAISED. BEYOND THE KUDOS, HOWEVER, YOUR COVERAGE OF THIS ISSUE HELPED TO GUIDE DEPARTMENT DECISION-MAKERS IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF KENGO'S BONA FIDES. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S PERCEPTION OF KENGO, AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S RECEPTION IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON WAS INFORMED AND INFLUENCED -- WITH THE CONCOMITANT EFFECT ON U.S. POLICY IN ZAIRE -- BY KINSHASA'S COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF KENGO'S COURAGEOUS EFFORTS TO TURN OFF THE SPIGOT OF ILLEGAL BANKNOTES (DETAILED AT LENGTH IN KINSHASA 5142, 5310, 5330, 5351, 5374, 5476, 5752, 6002, AND 6062).

13. ON THE ISSUE OF MOBUTU AND KENGO, AND ON THE RELATED TOPIC OF THE FORMER'S SUPPLY OF MONEY, YOUR AUDIENCE IS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN WANTING AS MUCH REPORTING AS KINSHASA CAN PROVIDE. ONE OF THE KEYS TO GOOD REPORTING -- ASIDE FROM A SOBER ASSESSMENT OF OFTEN MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE SETS OF FACTS -- IS ACCESS. IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED TIME AND AGAIN THAT YOU AND YOUR STAFF HAVE ALMOST UNLIMITED ACCESS TO KEY ZAIRIAN DECISION-MAKERS (TO CITE ONLY ONE ADDITIONAL EXAMPLE, KINSHASA 6307, "KENGO'S EURO-AMERICAN VISIT"). ACCESS TO MOBUTU IS UNDERSTANDABLY LIMITED SINCE THE MARSHAL SPENDS MOST OF HIS TIME (WHEN NOT GADDING ABOUT

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SOUTHERN FRANCE) IN GBADOLITE, BUT YOUR MESSAGES RECOUNTING TROIKA AND BILATERAL DEMARCHES OFFER REGULAR INSIGHT INTO THE PERSONALITY AND MOTIVATION OF ZAIRE'S PRESIDENT. KINSHASA 1821, "MOBUTU RECEIVES PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER," WAS AN ESPECIALLY NOTEWORTHY EFFORT. YOUR USE OF THE OCCASION TO BEARD MOBUTU ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION WAS ADROIT DIPLOMACY, AND THE REPORT OF THE MEETING WAS A WELCOME COUNTERPOINT TO OVERLY-HOPEFUL TALES IN INTELLIGENCE CHANNELS OF A DRUNKEN AND UNFOCUSED MOBUTU.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFUGEE REPORTING  
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14. AS I INDICATED EARLIER, THE DEPARTMENT IS WELL AWARE THAT THE RWANDA CRISIS, AND PARTICULARLY THE INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO EASTERN ZAIRE IN JULY, PLACED EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS ON YOUR MISSION. YOU AND YOUR STAFF MET THE CHALLENGE WITH REGULAR SITUATION REPORTS ON THE CRISIS, AND AT THE SAME TIME YOU CONTINUED YOUR FINE REPORTING ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED AND REFUGEE ISSUES. THREE FINE CABLES ON DISPLACED KASAIANS IN SHABA PROVINCE PROVIDED GRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM AND ON THE CULPABILITY OF MOBUTU AND HIS CRONIES: 93 KINSHASA 7318, "SITUATION OF THE DISPLACED KASAIANS," KINSHASA 381, "DEMARCHE ON DISPLACED KASAIANS," AND KINSHASA 1101, "KASAIANS IN SHABA PROVINCE." TO COMPLEMENT THE SITUATION IN SHABA, YOU SUBMITTED AN EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED IN KASAI (KINSHASA 2271, "A VISIT TO THE

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RESETTLEMENT CAMPS OF EAST KASAI"). KINSHASA 20, "A PROFILE OF ZAIRE'S HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS," PROVIDED A TIMELY PRIMER ON THESE NGOS -- WE USED THEM TO COUNTER USAID'S CLAIMS THAT THERE WERE NO INDIGENOUS NGOS WITH WHOM THEY COULD WORK. KINSHASA 4860, "THE JUSTICE MINISTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS," WAS A USEFUL FIRST LOOK AT THE NEW DIRECTION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT UNDER PRIME MINISTER KENGO. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE MORE REPORTING AND ANALYSIS ON THE KENGO GOVERNMENT, THE WORD VERSUS THE DEED, ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER PARTS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S AMBITIOUS PROGRAM.

15. THE ONSET OF THE REGIONAL CRISIS IN EARLY APRIL BROUGHT HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION TO BEAR ON EASTERN ZAIRE, RWANDA AND BURUNDI, AND REFUGEE REPORTING FROM THE DART TEAM, VIA DATT CHANNELS (RESIDENT AND TDY), AND FROM VISITING REFUGEE COORDINATORS FLOODED THE DEPARTMENT. IN AMIDST THIS MASS OF PAPER, EMBASSY KINSHASA'S REPORTING STOOD OUT AS THE MOST FOCUSED AND CONCISE, AND THE BEST WRITTEN. KINSHASA 3564 AND 3665 ("THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN ZAIRE'S KIVUS" AND "THE KIVUS ON THE EDGE OF CONFLICT") WERE ASTUTE ANALYSES OF THE IMPACT OF REFUGEES ON REGIONAL POLITICS AND AN ACCURATE ADUMBRATION OF THE RANGE OF PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD FACE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS THE NUMBERS OF RWANDANS FLEEING THE GENOCIDE SWELLED TO OVER A MILLION. FINALLY, YOU SUPPLEMENTED YOUR SITUATION REPORTS WITH MORE COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNTS

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OF THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN THE KIVUS (EG., KINSHASA  
4025, KINSHASA 4045, AND KINSHASA 4183).

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ZAIRE AND RWANDA /  
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16. RELATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND RWANDA REMAIN OF INTENSE INTEREST HERE, AND THE NEARLY INTRACTABLE ISSUE OF THE PRESENCE OF FORMER RWANDAN MILITARY AND THE MILITIA IN THE CAMPS IN EASTERN ZAIRE IS A HOTLY-DEBATED TOPIC IN WASHINGTON. ON THE FORMER TOPIC, A SERIES OF MESSAGES FROM MAY TO OCTOBER WERE HELPFUL IN FIGURING OUT WHAT MOBUTU AND THE FRENCH MIGHT BE UP TO (I.E., KINSHASA 2414, RWANDA INTERIM GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS SUGGEST MOBUTU PEACE INITIATIVE, "KINSHASA 2753, "ZAIRE AND RWANDA: FRENCH TALK TO MOBUTU," AND KINSHASA 2961, "ZAIRE AND THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA"). IN THE LATTER AREA, SEVERAL KINSHASA CABLES CLARIFIED AN INCREASINGLY MUDDLED INTER-AGENCY POLICY DEBATE (EG, KINSHASA 4953, "ZAIRIAN OFFICIALS ON RWANDA REFUGEE CRISIS," KINSHASA 5031, "KENGO REQUESTS HELP IN MOVING EX-RWANDAN ARMY FROM BORDER AREA," KINSHASA 5281, "RWANDANS IN ZAIRE," AND KINSHASA 6043, "DISARMAMENT/MOVMEMENT OF FORMER RWANDAN ARMY: THE VIEW FROM ZAIRE").

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ZAIRE'S PROVINCES  
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17. LAST YEAR'S CDE HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR YOUR COVERAGE OF EVENTS BEYOND KINSHASA, AND YOU CONTINUED THIS YEAR TO SET HIGH STANDARDS IN THIS AREA. EMBASSY KINSHASA PREPARED AN EXCELLENT AND SKILLFULLY-EXECUTED SERIES OF PORTRAITS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN  
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ZAIRE'S PROVINCES. I HAVE ALREADY NOTED THE EVOCATIVE AND USEFUL MESSAGES ON THE KIVUS, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO CITE THREE OTHER CABLES WHICH DEMONSTRATE EMBASSY KINSHASA'S ABILITY TO CONVEY LIFE BEYOND THE CAPITAL: 93

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KINSHASA 7159, "DEFINING SHABAN AUTONOMY: WILL ANYBODY NOTICE THE DIFFERENCE," KINSHASA 901, "DIAMONDS, DECLINE, AND DREAMS OF DEMOCRACY AT A BEND IN THE RIVER," AND KINSHASA 1320, "IN SEARCH OF REBELLION: ON THE ROAD IN NORTH KIVU."

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ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ISSUES  
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18. THE ABSENCE OF RELIABLE STATISTICS IN ZAIRE UNDOUBTEDLY HAMPERS YOUR ABILITY TO ANALYZE IN DEPTH THE SORRY STATE OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. NONETHELESS, KINSHASA HAS PROVIDED SOLID ANECDOTAL AND SPOT REPORTING ON ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ISSUES. EB PRAISED YOUR JUDICIOUS SELECTION OF MATERIAL, AND CITED YOUR STRONG FINANCIAL REPORTING (KINSHASA 5098, ON THE SALES OF TREASURY BONDS, KINSHASA 3876, ON DEPRECIATION AND RAPID INFLATION, AND KINSHASA 2442, ON LOSING BATTLES TO STABILIZE THE EXCHANGE RATE). THE SECTION ON THE ECONOMY IN KINSHASA'S WIDELY-READ WEEKLY REPORT IS ALSO VERY USEFUL, AS IS THE MONTHLY COST OF LIVING SURVEY. I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED THE SUPERB COVERAGE OF THE ILLEGAL CURRENCY AFFAIR, BUT YOU ALSO UNVEILED A BIZARRE EFFORT BY MOBUTU'S ENTOURAGE (AND PERHAPS "LE GUIDE" HIMSELF) TO USE CITIBANK TO EFFECT A BOGUS BILLION DOLLAR BANK TRANSFER (KINSHASA 5880 AND KINSHASA 6422). CABLES ON

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THE FAILED BIRINDWA "MONETARY REFORM" (93 KINSHASA 6519), ON SELLING GASOLINE IN KINSHASA (93 KINSHASA 7260), AND ON THE VIEWS OF AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN IN ZAIRE (93 KINSHASA 7075) PROVIDED A COLORFUL LOOK INTO THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF DOING BUSINESS IN A COUNTRY WHERE THE FORMAL ECONOMY HAS VIRTUALLY COLLAPSED.

19. THE DEARTH OF REPORTING ON GECAMINES OFFERS STARK TESTIMONY TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE ONCE-MIGHTY COPPER AND COBALT PARASTATAL. YOUR REPORTS ON THE DIAMOND TRADE, HOWEVER, WERE COPIOUS, LIVELY, AND PACKED WITH USEFUL INFORMATION (EG., KINSHASA 0717, "1993 DIAMOND EXPORTS"). TWO MARVELOUS CABLES FROM APRIL WERE SOME OF THE BEST ECONOMIC REPORTING WE HAVE SEEN. KINSHASA 1955 ("MBUJI-MAYI'S ECONOMY") AND KINSHASA 2000 ("DIAMONDS IN MBUJI-MAYI: LIKE SAND THROUGH THE FINGERS") SYNTHESIZED A WEALTH OF DETAIL FROM A TRIP TO THE REGION TO DRAW A

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WONDERFUL PORTRAIT OF A COMPANY TOWN-CUM-OPPOSITION CENTER-CUM-SMUGGLER'S HAVEN. WE ALSO LIKED YOUR PIECE ON SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ZAIRE'S RAILWAY, AND APPRECIATED YOUR ASTUTE ANALYSIS OF KENGO'S ECONOMIC AGENDA. RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS MAY IMPEDE ADDITIONAL COVERAGE OF THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY (INDUSTRY, NON-FINANCIAL POLICIES, THE BUDGET-MAKING PROCESS), BUT SUCH REPORTS WOULD BE WELCOME. I ALSO SUGGEST THAT EVERY SIX MONTHS YOU TRY TO DO AN ECONOMIC WRAP-UP CABLE COVERING FISCAL, MONETARY, EXPORT INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENTS, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, ETC., WITH WHATEVER SUMMARY STATISTICS ARE AVAILABLE IN ZAIRE (IF ANY). YOU MAY WISH TO ADD THIS TO THE ECONOMIC SECTION OF YOUR POST REPORTING PLAN.

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MILITARY REPORTING  
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20. DEPARTMENT APPRECIATED THE ATTEMPT BY YOUR DAO TO CHRONICLE THE ALLEGED UNITA RE-SUPPLY FLIGHTS FROM KINSHASA'S NDJILI AIRPORT, ALTHOUGH WE CONFESS LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE CATALOGUE OF AIRCRAFT TYPES AND TAIL NUMBERS. WE FOUND THE DIA-SOURCED REPORTS FROM EASTERN ZAIRE DURING THE REFUGEE CRISIS TO BE MOST USEFUL IN FIGURING OUT WHAT THE EX-FAR AND IGOR MIGHT BE PLANNING, AND FOR ITS UNVARNISHED ANALYSIS OF THE ABILITY OF THE ZAIRIANS TO COPE. ONE REPORT, HOWEVER, STANDS OUT AS A MASTERPIECE OF ITS GENRE: KINSHASA 3016, "THE FARCES ARMEES ZAIROISES." WE APPRECIATED THE DETAIL, THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, AND THE ASSESSMENT OF THE FAR'S MILITARY (IN)CAPABILITY. IT ALSO GAVE US A FEW CHUCKLES, WHICH ARE ALWAYS WELCOME IN AF/C. I ENCOURAGE YOU TO INCLUDE AN EMBASSY COMMENT AS OFTEN AS YOU SEE THE NEED IN YOUR DATT'S REPORTING.

-----  
BIOGRAPHIC/LEADERSHIP REPORTING  
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21. POST SENT IN VERY THOROUGH BIO REPORTS ON KEY FIGURES IN THE NEW KENGO GOVERNMENT, AND PROVIDED A USEFUL BREAKDOWN OF PARTY AFFILIATION (KINSHASA 4036). YOUR REPORTING ON THE ILLEGAL CURRENCY CRISIS (PARTICULARLY KINSHASA 5351 AND KINSHASA 5738) CONTAINED

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EXCEPTIONAL BIO INFORMATION, AND SHED LIGHT ON THE  
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DYNAMIC BETWEEN KENGO, MOBUTU, AND GENERALS BARAMOTO,  
NZIMBI, AND ELUKI. INR/B NOTED WITH INTEREST THE  
RE-EMERGENCE OF LONGTIME KENGO ALLY SETI YALE, AND HOPES  
FOR FURTHER REPORTING FROM POST AS APPROPRIATE ON HIS  
EVOLVING ROLE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IF AND WHEN  
KENGO INCORPORATES OTHER (PARTICULARLY UDPS) POLITICAL  
PLAYERS INTO HIS GOVERNMENT, ADDITIONAL BIO INFO WOULD BE  
WELCOME.

-----  
HORS DE CONCOURS  
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22. THE CDE INSTRUCTIONS MAKE NO MENTION OF CONSULAR  
REPORTING, BUT I WOULD BE REMISS IF I FAILED TO NOTE THE  
EXCELLENT WRITING WHICH CAME OUT OF YOUR CONSUL'S SHOP  
DURING THE EVALUATION PERIOD. YOUR H PASS MESSAGES ARE  
MODELS OF RESPONSIVENESS (AND THE DRAFTING IS EXTREMELY  
GOOD), AND WE ESPECIALLY APPRECIATED THE TART RESPONSES  
TO THE EFFORTS OF VARIOUS MOBUTU CRONIES TO SECURE  
VISAS. A CABLE TO NOUAKCHOTT ("JUST SAY NO") SHOULD BE  
USED IN CONGEN ROSSLYN AS A TRAINING EXERCISE FOR JUNIOR  
CONSULAR OFFICERS. THE VISA SANCTION IS AN IMPORTANT  
PLANK OF OUR OVERALL POLICY TOWARD ZAIRE, BUT IT IS  
PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT PART OF U.S. POLICY TO EXPLAIN  
OUTSIDE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. KINSHASA 597 ("ZAIRE  
AND THE 212(F) VISA PROCLAMATION: FROM GENESIS TO  
REVELATION IN A FEW MONTHS") WAS AN ABSOLUTELY FIRST RATE  
ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SANCTION. THE  
CABLE'S ARGUMENTS HAD WIDE EFFECT, AND HAVE FORMED THE  
POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR EVERY DISCUSSION OF THE TOPIC IN  
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THE DEPARTMENT, AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ON THE  
HILL, AND WITH THE PRIVATE AMERICAN (AND ZAIRIAN)  
COMMUNITY.

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE REPORTING  
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23. KINSHASA HAS DONE AN ADMIRABLE JOB IN PROVIDING VOLUMINOUS REPORTING OF CRITICAL INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT. WE ENCOURAGE YOU TO CONTINUE TRACKING THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN ZAIRE, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND PRIME MINISTER KENGO, KENGO'S EFFORTS TO STEM THE TIDE OF ILLEGAL CURRENCY AND PUT HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM INTO EFFECT, AND KENGO'S RELATIONS WITH MOBUTU'S ENTOURAGE, THE GENERALS, AND THE RADICAL OPPOSITION. WE ALSO NEED KINSHASA'S TAKE ON THE REGIONAL CRISIS, AND ESPECIALLY THE REFUGEE AND OVERALL SECURITY SITUATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE. PLEASE CONTINUE YOUR EXCELLENT SERIES OF REPORTS ON ZAIRE'S REGIONS, AND COMMENT ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY (PARTICULARLY IN SHABA). PROPOSED REPORTS FROM YOUR PRP WHICH ALSO REMAIN RELEVANT INCLUDE:

- WHAT WOULD IT TAKE TO HAVE AN ELECTION?
- ZAIRE'S PRIORITY STRUCTURAL REFORM REQUIREMENTS
- THE ZAIRE TROIKA: IS IT STILL USEFUL?
- ZAIRE'S PARASTATALS

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- ZAIRE'S EXTERNAL DEBT
- FEDERALISM, AUTONOMY, AND ZAIRE: WHAT UNDERLIES THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE?
- EQUATEUR - THE PRESIDENT'S HOMELAND
- ZAIRE IN THE REGION: LION OR LAMB?

24. THE KEY AREAS OF CONTINUING INTEREST WHICH YOU IDENTIFIED IN YOUR POST REPORTING PLAN REMAIN BROADLY VALID, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY AFFAIRS. CLEARLY, AS ZAIRE MOVES TOWARD ELECTIONS WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE REPORTING ON PLANS AND PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS. IN THIS VEIN, AS YOU CONTINUE TO COVER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO BUILD ON YOUR "DATABASE" OF LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS/DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE NGOS (IN KINSHASA AND IN THE PROVINCES) IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY GROUPS WITH WHICH THE USG MIGHT CHANNEL ASSISTANCE.

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FINALLY, MANY END USERS ASKED FOR ADDITIONAL REPORTING ON WHERE MOBUTU GETS HIS MONEY, ON THE MILITARY'S RELATIONSHIP TO "LE GUIDE" AND ON WHETHER THE SECURITY FORCES MIGHT INTERVENE IF MOBUTU WERE TO BE DEFEATED IN ELECTIONS.

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RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS/PROPOSED AREAS FOR REDUCTION  
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25. KINSHASA'S SUBSTANTIVE REPORTING COMPLEMENT IS  
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UNLIKELY TO BE REDUCED IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND AFTER MONTHS OF STAFFING GAPS YOU ARE NEAR FULL STRENGTH. AS YOU KNOW, A MEMO IS NOW IN CIRCULATION SEEKING UNDER SECRETARY MOOSE'S AUTHORIZATION TO FILL YOUR ONE ALLOTTED AMERICAN POSITION IN LUBUMBASHI. THESE RESOURCES SHOULD PERMIT YOU TO CONTINUE TO MEET THE HIGH REPORTING STANDARDS (BOTH QUALITY AND QUANTITY) WHICH YOU HAVE SET YOUR MISSION. THAT SAID, BUDGET CUTS ARE A FACT OF FOREIGN SERVICE LIFE, AND YOU MAY FACE PERSONNEL CUTS OR REDUCTIONS IN YOUR TRAVEL BUDGET. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITIES SET OUT IN YOUR MPP AND PRP, IF REDUCTION IN REPORTING IS NECESSARY, YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER ELIMINATING THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF REPORTS:

--ZAIRE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

--DEBT-FOR-NATURE SWAPS

--THE CHURCHES (I.E., LENGTHY ANALYSES OF "CORPORATE" STRUCTURES)

--REPORTS ON MINOR SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

26. REGARDS.  
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